M 764 761

young man! [Ed., the text is not translated from mid-page 17 to the second paragraph, page 19.]

[19] Since the chief goal of our expedition was to study the practices and customs connected with the material and everyday life of the native, as well as to gather objects for our collection, our stay among the various tribes was too

M 121

M [732]

Fig. 14. Natural Deformations among the Natives. (1) Bankutu woman; (2) Barakata woman; (3) Bankutu child.

short to permit a thorough study of their religious life and its attendant customs.

M I 776

We ascertained that the native, as a rule, acknowledges the existence of a higher spirit. During my stay in the village of Kapanda, Banfumungu tribe, I had the opportunity to question a chief on the subject.

"Who causes the sun and the moon to rise? Who gave you the fish of the river and the animals of the plain, Matali?"

The chief looked at me for an instant, dumbfounded, and then replied, "Nzambi ve Mundele?" "Was it not Nzambi, White man?"

"Why, then, do you not call upon Nzambi to protect your crops, favor your fishing, and grant you success in hunting, Matali?" [20]

771 In matters of religion the Nkundó recognize the existence of a Supreme Being: Njakomba or Mbombiándé, creator and ruler of all that exists. They do not worship him in any way, however; all their religious practices are addressed to guardian and ancestral spirits. (2)

2. On the subject of the religious conceptions of the Nkundó, see a detailed study by Father Boelaert, M.S.C., in Hooger Leven, 1934, pp. 1612 and 1636, and 1935, pp. 12 and 60.

197 The language of the Nkundó is beautiful, harmonious, flexible, and rich. It has all the qualities needed to become a literary language and is admirably suited to the requirements of teaching. Furthermore, its various dialects are spoken over a considerably large territory, in fact over one of the largest language areas [13] of the Congo. In addition to the religious and devotional books of the 797 Catholic missions, a fairly large collection of various academic text- 214 books is available in this language, thanks primarily to the zeal of the Protestant missionaries. The latter have also published a complete translation of the Bible. Several vocabularies and small grammars have been compiled, and in recent years a large dictionary and an expanded grammar have been added to these, both compiled by A. and L. Ruskin of the Bongandanga Mission. For several years the Protestant mission at Bolenge has been publishing a native magazine, and the Catholic mission is pushing ahead with preparations to publish one also.

Father Shebesta's book, Volibiumeger und Halbzwerge, in- 164 cludes a chapter on the Nkundó in which the author gives a good general description of this people. Nevertheless, some of the details given must be accepted with reservations.

The general information given above is enough to give the • 121 reader a superficial knowledge of the Nkundó.

The purpose of this work is to give a more extensive account of their institutions pertaining to marriage.

As we have previously stated, we are considering only a portion of this people. All our statements cover only the fraction we have delimited. The family institutions of other Nkundó groups are not accounted for, as they are less known to us and we do not want

[2] to present anything we have not thoroughly investigated. We have not stepped outside the geographic limits set forth except for a few incidental remarks. Although the cultural uniformity of the Nkundó-Mongo is remarkable it is not, of course, absolute. And if we have used the title Mariage des Nkundó (Marriage among the Nkundu), we have done so because it was difficult to find one which would be more appropriate for the geographic and ethnic limits of [14] this study. It is very likely that in most cases our data are valid beyond the limits we have laid out, but to generalize upon it before making a thorough study of each group would be contrary to all scientific method. The reader is therefore earnestly requested to take these remarks into account and to abstain from giving our conclusions too broad a scope.

Familial institutions in themselves and in their totality are outside the scope of this book. But since they are based on marriage, they have an important place within our framework. We must necessarily touch upon them, but we will limit our excursions into that realm to what is required to make the general description intelligible. On the other hand, the study of marriage throws a good deal of light on familial institutions.

The words "family," "clan," "group," etc. recur frequently. The family is an entity smaller than the clan, and the latter is subordinate to the group. Since it s very difficult to give a precise definition, however, we have taken the trouble to make a clear distinction only when necessary. (1) [Editor's Note: Elsewhere we use them more as generic terms or even as synonyms. In order to make family relationships and the expressions used by the Nkundó to designate them more comprehensible, we are attaching an example of a genealogical table.]

1. See Chapter V, Article III.

I know of the following previous studies on the same subject:

Engels, "Les Wangata," Revue Congolaise, 1910, which also deals with marriage.

G. Kapteijn, "Familieleven en -zeden bij de Inboorlingen van den Evenaar," Congo, 1922, Vol. 1, p. 531. [15] This study covers

113 more ground than ours, since it even includes a discussion of the Mbole.

H. Brepoels, "Het Familiehoofd bij de Nkundó-Negers," Congo, 1930, Vol. 2, p. 332.

124 We have tried to make our data as complete as possible. We have given here not only the major trends and basic principles, but also the particulars, even those that seem most insignificant. They are always interesting, and sometimes more so than one may have suspected at first. All the material has been discussed over and over again, in private and in public, with very varied people at different times and places, and the points that presented the greatest difficulty were gone over countless times.

121 In general we have preferred to use the descriptive and analytic method. We have drawn conclusions and principles from the data. Although case histories naturally lengthened the text of this work, we have not hesitated to insert them at various points. They are the best means of bringing out certain rules or customs and bringing to life the psychology of our people.

121 69 In this respect a remark should be made whose importance deserves our attention for a moment. The examination of judicial cases of which we have been direct or indirect witnesses does not provide a scientific certainty about the laws -- or "the customs," to use the term so frequently applied (1). For not all [16] that is done

1. It is unfortunate that this term has become so fashionable, for it lacks precision. Indeed, it may mean simply "practice, usage," or it may be used in the legal seme of "a practice having the force of a law." Often a confusion between the two meanings is created, and all customs are considered to be legally obligatory, when actually, some practices are outside common law, and others are in opposition to it. For the sake of precision in ethnographic and ethnological works, it would be well to use this ambiguous term as little as possible and to distinguish clearly among legal procedures, the laws and custom or usage.

121 69 is in accordance with justice. The observation that the natives behave in one fashion or another, and that this or that palaver is often settled in a particular way, is not a sufficient basis for concluding that such is the law.

Infractions of the rules of social justice are more frequent than one would suspect. The principles are good, but often passions prevent their application, and frequently there are neither sanctions to support a weakness of will nor rewards to stimulate loyal adherence.

121 114 69 Furthermore, one should not invoke the variability and continuous transformation of native law (as does Dr. T. Seitz, for example, in Africa, Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 89) without first establishing whether the judgments rendered have been in conformity with the law. The remark made by this eminent author further on in his article, "Welche Rolle dabei das Machtmoment," etc. ... weakens his first statement and shows precisely that an accurate knowledge of legal prescriptions cannot be attained solely on the basis of the verdicts of tribunals, and that partiality often plays a considerable part. The observation made by the former governor of the Cameroons may be applied to the Belgian Congo and often to "civilized" countries as well -- partially and the abuse of power are nowhere unknown.

121 69 We must also take into account the possibility of the judges' ignorance, as well as our own difficulty in understanding their sentences, since important points of fact and law are sometimes left unmentioned, and yet are implied.

It is not surprising that there are complicated cases where it is very difficult for the natives, however intelligent and impartial, to settle the dispute and provide a fair and legitimate solution. The law cannot foresee for every case the infinite variety of personal, local, and modal circumstances that may occur.

Only the analysis and comparison of diverse cases, [17] their solutions, sanctions, and consequences, together with discussions with discreet and impartial natives who are knowing and skillful and who have learned to know us and to understand what we want to learn from them, and who are sincerely disposed to help us at the same time, can produce a rational and reasoned certainty which conforms to reality. These conditions are numerous, and it is difficult to find them

121 all fulfilled in one person. But such individuals do exist, if in the
69 person of the investigator they find sympathy, broad ideas, a lack of all European racism, understanding, a knowledge of their language, and a benevolent devotion to their interests, individually and as a group.

Even if one has the good fortune to find a native who, after
121 much experience, reaches the point where he will say spontaneously:
124 "This is done often, but it is against the law; the law says thus and so; this decision of the tribunal was partial for such or such reason," -- an infinitely valuable situation, but one which arises very rarely -- one is not thereby absolved of the need to check his statements. But the further one goes, the more it is possible to be aware of the reality and to appraise the informant's value in this sphere and the usefulness of his statements.

These considerations are particularly valuable in making the
121 distinction between obligations and social decorum or good manners,
183 between legal obligations and obligations of kinship and mutual
671 assistance. In current practice the Nkundó make no clear lines of demarcation between these categories, since they have never codified their law or attempted to set up a clear and precise classification. They feel no more need for this than, for instance, they or even we "civilized" people bother about setting up a grammar for our native tongue, which we speak correctly and without the slightest difficulty, purely out of habit.

An investigation in the legal domain is made [18] very diffi-
[124] cult by the patriarchal and feudal character of these peoples, added to the lack of writing. Not only is there an adaptation to circumstances -- the felicitous flexibility of native laws -- in which jurisprudence plays a great role, but the Nkundó, while knowing well what is lawful and what is not, generally does not clearly understand the nature of an obligation, and above all he does not know its source.

One's chances of obtaining good results in the inquiry are
121 greatly increased by the use of hypothetical cases, presented to the
124 individuals one knows best and whom one knows to be in no way involved. It is always worthwhile to use this method as a means of completing and perhaps correcting conclusions based on the examination

121 of actual legal cases. It is almost impossible to gain access to the
124 latter unless one is armed with an official order. A thorough knowledge of the language of the tribe in question is required, however, for the use of imaginary cases.

In describing various laws and practices, we have tried to reproduce the explanations given by the Nkundó and to add our own views when it has seemed appropriate to do so. The careful reader will have no trouble distinguishing between these two very different sources.

121 I am very well aware that many ethnologists do not like chercheurs de brousse [bush explorers] to become involved in these questions, and that they prefer to receive from the latter only raw data on which they can build their theories. All ethnographers of the bush and forest will readily recognize their inadequacy in matters of theory. But this very real disadvantage due to a lack of training is offset by a definite advantage. They know the natives much more intimately, not only with respect to the immediate subject of their study, but also as regards other aspects of their lives, particularly their psychological make-up and general mentality, with which they may have had direct and daily contact for many years. [19] They are therefore more likely to come to conclusions which are in accordance with reality. The "armchair" ethnologists sometimes seem to assume that the men in the bush are capable of being no more than collectors of data. *Yet the majority of them have had an intermediate* education, especially in the humanities, and many of them have attended institutions of higher learning (universities and others). There are profesional jurists among them, for example. Therefore, these observers are capable of reliable judgments, and many of them, through their studies in philosophy, are equipped with the rules of logic and highly developed critical powers.

It is true that it is not up to us to build theories; the range of our investigations is always limited. A knowledge of theories is very interesting and useful, but it is by no means necessary. In fact such knowledge may sometimes be dangerous, since it is easy for it to unduly influence our judgment in a way that is against the best interests of science. Thus we do not care whether our facts are in

121 conformity or in opposition to this or that ethnological theory. We are presenting the facts in their entirety, the material portion of the culture as well as its intellectual, psychological, and moral basis. Theory should be based on these facts, not the facts adapted to suit the theories.

121 114 In the text of this work the reader will find repetitions, footnotes, and references. We would have preferred to omit these, since they are always tedious, but their presence was dictated by the nature of the material and by the strictly scientific nature of this work, which we wanted to retain at all costs. We hope in fact that those who wish to study it thoroughly will find these repetitions not an obstacle, but a valuable aid which will help them to obtain a total and precise picture of the material.

Although I have taken the greatest care and all possible precautions to present to the reader only facts and evidence which correspond to reality, and to document [20] everything as completely as possible, this work will inevitably contain gaps, imperfections, even one mistake or another. (1)

> 1. This is especially true with regard to the legal significance of certain practices, a most delicate point of inquiry, which has yet to be thoroughly investigated -- particularly, certain questions concerning the origin of marriage in its various forms.

This material is not exempt from such faults, and it would be pure presumption to pretend otherwise. But science could not advance, nor could the practical purpose of our knowledge ever be accomplished, should we try to achieve the perfection that can be the result only of successive studies by different people, before presenting the results of our research to the public. I would be gratified if others would check my data, criticize it, and supplement and correct it wherever necessary. I hope that this work will also stimulate them to make a similar study of the other segments of the Nkundó-Mongo so that at last we may have a total picture of the matrimonial institutions of this very important people.

121 The question about the real structure of the native society begins to be asked only now that it has been brought completely to the tottering point. The question as to whether that society is, in its foundations or basic elements, really in conflict with natural law, the general welfare of mankind, and faith -- the question, thus, of the right of that society to exist -- is still shoved aside in favor of the supposed duty of the moment: to make that society like ours.

In this article, I have tried to outline the social order of the Nkundo [Nkundu] -Mongo as clearly as possible, in order to find an answer to the last question.

1. The Ethnic Clan

When we keep saying that the family is the nucleus of the community, we are ultimately merely clutching a legal fiction, or rather, we say what it ought to be. In fact, the family is, among us, only the producer of individuals who play their role in the community. The family, as such, is neither socially nor legally nor politically an intermediary, a mediator, between the individuals and the higher organs of the society.

613 Second, the nuclear family has, in our society, developed into a completely separate conception, compared to the extended family. The patriarchal household, the model of which Le Play portrayed, or the extended family, has completely disappeared. Among the Nkundo-Mongo, on the contrary, it is precisely the patriarchal family which, in the most absolute sense, is still the nucleus of the community and the foremost independent organ of that community.

Most often, this extended family is designated by the term "clan," to which vaguely different characteristics are attached: [150] blood relationship, totemism, exogamy, community of property, and others. One speaks of ethnic (patriarchal or matriarchal), legal, exogamic, and political clans, without further giving a clear description of these concepts.

The ethnic clan includes all of the persons who are descended in the male line from a particular ancestor. It is his descent in the male line from that particular ancestor which ties each Nkundo to that clan. Each ethnic clan has its own name, which is indicated in our society by the family name. When the Nkundo wish, however, to indicate that name,

[188]

Introduction

114 This study is based on the preliminary work connected with the publication of the results of the "Mainz Congo Expedition 1951-54" in which I participated as an assistant to Dr. Sulzmann.

●121 In order to describe and characterize the kinship and local groups of the Ekonda, they should first be regarded as ethno-sociological ideal types (1). For this purpose it was

1. For the concept of type, see Thurnwald, Menschliche Gesellschaft [Human Society], Vol. 1, p. 7 ff.; Mühlmann, Methodik [Methodology], p. 114 ff.; and Wörterbuch der Soziologie [Dictionary of Sociology], p. 224 f.

necessary to obtain a clear understanding of the meaning of the terms used to describe the types. Studies by Thurnwald (2),

2. Menschliche Gesellschaft [Human Society], Vols. 2, 4.

Kirchhoff (3), Murdock (4) (4a), Radcliffe-Brown (5), Lowie (6),

3. "Verwandtschaftsorganisation [Kinship Organization], Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 63, pp. 85-133; "Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen [Kinship Terminology], "Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 64, pp. 41-71.

4. Social Structure.

4a. "Changing Emphasis."

5. "Study of Kinship Systems."

6. Primitive Society.

[12] and Lévi-Strauss (7) were consulted (8).

7. Structures Élémentaires.

8. I am particularly indebted to Prof. Mühlmann for his advice and references to source material.

By their very nature, all attempts to recognize ethnosociological ideal types must remain incomplete and are in constant need of revision on the basis of ethnographic reality (9).

9. Mühlmann, Methodik, p. 120.

Such revision can only be carried out if each field worker, while studying his material, compares the existing terminology with "his" realities and if he then submits the result of this comparison to the scrutiny of others. Unfortunately the use of ethnosociological terms is often dictated primarily by the convictions and preferences of the individual author who may neither refer to the existing terminology nor otherwise inform the reader of what he means exactly by the various terms. Many authors in this respect follow such unreliable standards as their "feeling for the language" or they act under the delusion that their private terminology corresponds to what is generally accepted. Too often, however, the actual usage differs considerably from what has been suggested in terminological studies. As a result terms like "clan," "kinship group [Sippe]," and "large family [Grossfamilie]" create different impressions among different readers.

In the present study the terminology of the authors mentioned above will be discussed in relation to the kinship and [101] local groups of the Ekonda. We are concerned here with the northwestern subdivision of the Ekonda who live in the Bikoro territory. The Ekonda belong to the large group, the Mongo.

It was said before that kinship and local groups are to be [12] discussed. This statement needs clarification. When speaking of local groups in the present study, we do not intend to refer to groups which consist of non-related subgroups. It is to be clearly understood that the residence pattern will be used as the decisive criterion for subdividing the groups. Thus, closely related groups may be excluded, more distantly related groups may be included. Occasionally such local units also include groups which are not related to each other. [103]

Also, among those groups which I have called kinship groups in this study, a biological or genealogical connection which can be proved and expressed in juridical terms is quite doubtful. We shall not concern ourselves, however, with this lack of precision; rather, we shall regard as related those persons or groups of persons whom the Ekonda themselves consider as related. In my opinion there is no justification for disregarding the attitude of the natives since it is their attitude which determines the character and function of the groups. Murdock (10)

10. Social Structure, p. 47.

uses this approach to the kinship group, while using the term "lineage" for persons who can prove their relationship. We hasten to point out that also the local groups have a tendency toward "paternalization" (11), to construe a closer relationship.

11. Boelaert, "Clan équivoque," p. 15.

The Kinship Structure of the Ekonda

61 607 Among the Ekonda we find a system of groups which are ordered according to degrees of real or assumed kinship. This system is subdivided into a hierarchical structure of many ranks. Larger groups consist of between one to four groups of the next order. The relationships between the groups correspond to the relationships between their founding ancestors. In this fashion certain groups are described as the older or younger brother of

In general one may assume that local groups will postulate only that kind of kinship relationship which does not necessitate a substantial functional reintegration. For this reason, units above the exogamy limit will easily tend to construe a genealogy which "proves" a kinship relationship. Groups of that type are functionally weak. One can observe processes of this kind both among the group of the Bakonda and among the neighboring E-group, Lonyanyanga. The institution of the nkfumd (see above, p. 14) also appears to have a leveling influence. The privileges of the oldest (and free) group diminish in importance and fall behind the office of nkfumd. The new office is also open to younger and dependent groups.

Sociological Terminology for Kinship Groups

Before dealing with the units which are to be regarded as settlement groups, we shall compare the kinship groups of the Ekonda with the sociological ideal types. Keeping in mind the authors mentioned at the beginning, I shall now discuss the various terms used for groups which are applicable to conditions found among the Ekonda. [196]

Family

The small family is of no importance in the organizational system of the Ekonda. Nevertheless it is very important as the smallest unit of economic life. Each small family is potentially polygynous, but monogynous marriages are more numerous at the present time, especially among the younger generation. In view of this difference between potential and practiced polygyny, it seems advisable to follow Thurnwald in classing the polygynous forms together with the small family and to differentiate its nuclear families (18). In my opinion this approach

18. Vol. 4, p. 12 f.

seems to correspond more closely to its functional importance than Murdock's view, according to which the polygynous family

● 121 596 together with the large family [Grossfamilie] is put into the category of "composite forms of family" (19). In Thurnwald's

19. Murdock, Social Structure, p. 23.

"Technical Terms" there are two passages dealing with the large family, one under the heading "Family," p. 12 f., the other under "Large Family," p. 14. Under "Family" Thurnwald writes:

"...The 'large family' differs from the family in that in the former several generations with a common grandfather live together in the same homestead or even under the same roof. The nuclear families, and the men forming part of them, remain relatively independent. Naturally, even in this unit relatives lacking any protection may be taken into the group. The large family differs from the kinship group (q. v.) in that in the former all its members live in the same dwelling site, and the degree of kinship between the members is mainly seen in a line descending from the head; in addition, it forms an economic unit. A further characteristic feature of the large family lies in the fact that it resembles any family in being tied to the life of the persons who constitute it and that it becomes extinct with them, while a kinship group renews itself automatically. It is, in a manner of speaking, 'eternal'."

Under the heading "Large Family," he writes only: "... The phenomenon of at least three generations descended from one another living together under a common head (grandfather with children and children's children) is defined as 'large family' (see Family, Kinship Group)." There is a discrepancy between these two definitions. If, according to the first definition, a group dissolves upon the death of the person constituting it, i.e., the oldest generation, the phrase "at least" may be valid for the norm, but not for the specific case. Thurnwald defines the family in the same manner in Lehrbuch der Völkerkunde [Textbook of Ethnology] (20). If we accept Thurnwald's definition --

20. Thurnwald in: Preuss (Ed.), Lehrbuch, p. 259.

121
596

the material collected by Kirchhoff (21) and the ancient Roman

21. Kirchhoff, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 63, p. 88 ff., p. 96 ff.

familia would serve as good examples -- a patrilineal large family could be described as a kinship group, living, working, and maintaining a household together, consisting of a husband, his wives, and all his offspring, and splitting into the large families of his sons upon the death of the father.

Kirchhoff defines the large family in the same fashion, yet he takes care to point out that here, in contrast to a kinship group, persons who have married into the group are part of it (22).

22. Kirchhoff, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 63, p. 90.

Murdock's conception of the "extended family" is identical with this interpretation (23).

23. Murdock, Social Structure, p. 24.

On the other hand, in Vol. 2 (p. 22) Thurnwald regards the large family as a unilateral kinship group with persons who have married into it. This group lives in the same place and is governed by a common chief from whom all the members are supposedly descended. The kinship group, in contrast to the large family, may be scattered. [197] Thus, Thurnwald at this point puts other characteristics in the foreground, but the text allows the conclusion that for Thurnwald the dependence on the life of the head of the families and its temporary nature are the essential characteristics of a large family.

596
64

In this sense none of the units described under $A\text{-}E^{1}_{A}$ is a large family. The wives who have married into the group belong to the group of the husband, but they always remain part of their father's group: in case of divorce they return to the

$^{1}_{A}$ [pages 9-15, category 116.- Analyst]

576 larger group. Another factor which reminds us of the wife's con-
614 tinuing membership in her original group is the connection, never completely severed, between the groups related by marriage, illustrated by the practice of gifts and counter-gifts which are all part of the bride price and the dowry. When she dies, the
[764] wife is buried in the soil of her group. In addition, the group membership of the wife is transferred to the children, although this does not have the same effects in economic and political
[68] terms. Matrilineal descent is important in relation to marriage restrictions, certain avoidance practices which are passed on through the wives, and also certain privileges. Quite a large number of persons has settled permanently in the group of their mother or that of their grandmother.

The decisive factor that makes the term "large family" unsuitable is the "eternal" character of the A-E groups of the Ekonda. However, the subdivisions of the A-groups which live together in a common homestead (see p. 10) may be regarded as large families in the sense used by Thurnwald, Kirchhoff, and Murdock.

Kinship Group

In the definitions of the term "family" quoted above,
674 we already learned something about Thurnwald's concept of a
[2] kinship group, but there is an additional reference to the technical term "kinship group" ["Sippe"]" (p. 17 f.) (34):

34. Menschliche Gesellschaft, Vol. 4.

"...A kinship group is defined as a clan (q.v.) which is not politically independent. Usually the loss of independence is caused by the distribution of the people of the clan among the various settlements. A kinship group is held together by the consciousness of being descended from the same ancestors and by their common cult of the ancestors. The kinship group is of special importance for the regulation of marriage (q.v.). -- A kinship group may be divided into kinship subgroups (large

[2] kinship group [Grossgruppe], small kinship group [Kleingruppe]),
6/4 or it may have a tendency to split in half. A kinship group or a kinship subgroup may at times have a chief, at times not."

On the term "clan" Thurnwald writes (p. 18) (24):

24. Menschliche Gesellschaft, VIII, 4.

"The word is of Old Irish origin, where it refers to children of common descent, approximately in the sense of a 'large family' (p. 7). We now use it for family agglomerations (see Horde) who have become stabilized, who have a religious substructure through their belief in common ancestors, and who support each other economically and politically. It is advisable to make a distinction between the 'clan' which settles exclusively within one region and which claims this region for itself, thus forming a politically sovereign community, and the splinters of a clan scattered among communities which are independent in their own right, which we designate as 'kinship groups' (p. 7) and which usually are not tied to each other by any organizational framework; their cohesion is simply the result of the communal-religious cult of the ancestors and a certain degree of solidarity. The origin of the clan and kinship group is closely related to the cult of the ancestors which symbolizes descent lines. Membership in a clan or in a kinship group may be reckoned in the male or female lines. Frequently one of the living family heads represents this family agglomeration which is, so to speak, [198] 'crystallized.' In this respect it differs from familial structures which become extinct upon the death of the persons by whom they were founded. In a clan or a kinship group the families succeeding each other are permanently represented (see Family, Caste, State)."

We may state that a common feature of both forms is that we are dealing here with purely collateral units which are tied to each other by ancestor worship (this ancestor worship may be -- in many cases, it will be -- absent in the large family as described above). If we disregard the attempt inherent in both

[2] definitions to present a theory of development, the differentia-
[4] tion between the two terms appears to me to be very useful, and
this seems particularly true if we accept the first definition of
clan given by Thurnwald and regard the second as completely
irrelevant for our present purposes.

It is true that our A-group lives in a certain district
[4] which it claims for itself as its own "province," but it is never-
[2] theless difficult to describe this district as a politically sovereign
community. A political nature could rather be attributed to those
groups which, up to now, we have not described at all, i.e.,
the settlement communities. Proceeding further, the A-group is
integrated into the B-group, the B-group into the C-group, thus
forming an endless chain; among those tribes who have a greater
degree of genealogical consciousness than the Ekonda -- for ex-
ample, the neighboring Bongili (20) -- the hierarchy of groups

20. Boelaert, "Les Bongili."

ends with mankind, the hierarchy of ancestors with God.

Thurnwald emphasizes this ranked structure, especially
[2] in discussing the kinship group. Kirchhoff, however, fails to
[4] deal with the problem of the kinship group in a manner which
would be of value to us in differentiating between kinship group
and clan. Dealing with the organizational structure of the peo-
ples he discussed, he naturally was more interested in defining
the border between large family and kinship group. Lowie (28)

28. Primitive Society.

only discusses the kinship group, "sib," calling it the "'class' of
British anthropologists", (p. 101) or "clans," if patrilineal, and
"gentes," if matrilineal, "of most American anthropologists."
The "ad infinitum" (p. 104) is also stressed by him in relation to
the kinship group. Lowie also admits the possibility of subdivision
with respect to his "sib," and consequently he even includes in
the kinship group such forms as the "moieties," which according
to Thurnwald's definition are still part of it, but which in his view

and in general ethnological usage are units of a special type. Thus Lowie's and Thurnwald's views correspond to a large extent. Murdock (27) clearly differentiates between a kinship

27. Social Structure, p. 45 ff.

group and a "lineage." In his view a lineage consists of a group of individuals who are able to trace their descent to a common ancestor, which for him in the majority of cases is only the unilineal "stem" [Stamm] of a large family, excluding those who have married into the group, but including the members who have married out.

Murdock's and Thurnwald's concepts of the kinship group are identical. On the other hand, Murdock differs in his definition of the clan (28).

28. Social Structure, p. 65 ff., especially p. 69 f.

Clan

Murdock regards the patrilineal clan as a local group which consists of the stem of a kinship group and which incorporates the wives of its members but excludes daughters who marry. As an example he mentioned the "groups" which in our society are connected by the same family name. If the group of persons bearing the birth-name "Wolf" in common functioned as a group of relatives, it would [199] be a Wolf kinship group, but those persons who actually call themselves "Wolf," i.e., the Messrs. Wolf with their wives, sons, unmarried sisters, and daughters, would constitute a Wolf clan (assuming, of course, that this group really functions). This concept of a clan is new. Even Murdock does not consider this definition very satisfactory and invites better suggestions. According to Murdock, the clan is a unit of eminent importance; terminologically it has not been possible so far to differentiate it from the kinship group. It is irrelevant in this connection whether the term clan is applicable to this

social group. It is true that the "Murdock clan" also exists among the Ekonda on all the lower ranks, but only as a functional unit which, like the large family and small family, is not really regarded as a group by the Ekonda. Among the Ekonda the feeling of cohesion between the indigenous group and those who have married into it has its basis not so much in the groups of relatives as described above, but rather in the local group of the type discussed further below.

The units which we described in the first part of this study correspond neither to the definition of Thurnwald nor to that of Murdock as regards the term clan. Our groups differ from the clan as described by Thurnwald by their hierarchical structure over which functions of authority are distributed. An added factor is that Thurnwald in the Leitzbuch (28) wants to define the

28. Thurnwald: in Preuss, Leitzbuch, p. 250 f.

difference between clan and kinship group by size and by ascribing to the former the element of political power. The only kinship group of the Ekonda which possesses strong authority, however, is the smallest, the one of rank A. If we let ourselves be guided by the criterion of authority, we would have to regard the smallest group (rank A) as a clan. Using the criterion of size, however, we would have to regard one of the groups of ranks D or E as a clan. Hence this term is unsuitable.

For the above reason I have used the term "kinship group" [Sippe] for the groups of all ranks. With respect to the E-groups one might even speak of a subtribe [Untermamm], but it should be pointed out that as far as the Ekonda are concerned all the groups mentioned above, including the tribes [Stämme] are groups or relatives of the same type, i.e., are "kinship groups."

For the purpose of differentiating between the kinship groups of the various ranks I have used the terms:

nuclear kinship group [Kernsippe] for groups of rank A;
small kinship group [Kleinsippe] for groups of rank B;

601 602 banankana). As a result, the children are legally identified with their mothers. Thus, my sister's child is a child (lomi) to me, or a sister's child (banankana), but to my own child he would be father (ise).

In addition, he has maternal blood relatives, children of my mother's sisters, who are thus his "brothers and sisters," or children of the daughters of his "male mothers." Since these last daughters are his "children," their children would be his "grandchildren." Again, all the members of these clans who are unrelated by blood are his bokanga.

IV. Likilo

601 602 582 There are affinal clans which have given wives (wali; pl., bali) to my clan. This does not, of course, concern my mother's clan, which is a clan related by blood, but rather clans which have given wives, be it to a classificatory "father," to one of their sons, or to one of the sons of the latter. The Nkundo calls all the members of these clans -- with the exception of the woman -- bokilo (pl., bakilo). The Nkundo, merely by marrying a woman, at the same time marries all her legal younger sisters, that is to say, all the bakuma [Ed., bankana?] and bana of this woman. Similarly, the woman marries not only a man, but at the same time all his legal younger brothers, that is, all the bakuma and bana of this man (except the children of their own union).

601 602 Just as the clans which have received a wife from my clan thus include bokanga and sisters' sons, so also clans that have given us a wife include bakilo and "wives." Clans which have given a wife to my boyanga follow the same rules.

Comment

121 614 682 In several recent studies, especially in South Africa, four rules have been defined which govern classificatory terminology.

The first rule is that of the "unity of the lineage": The lineage as a whole is classified as belonging to a particular 'generation'

121 694 602 in its relations to another lineage as a whole" (Holleman, op. cit., p. 9). The author adds, "the unity of the lineage may be broken by a division into affines and cognatic, each with their distinctive terminology, in which the cognatic section is one 'generation' lower than the affinal section" (p. 5.).

121 694 602 607 Just as we speak of a mother society or a sister society, so the Nkundo can also consider an affinal clan as a moral person and speak of his mother's clan as of his mother, of a bokanga clan, of a bokilo clan. I do not think that the term bokanga or bokilo implies an idea of generation when it is applied to an individual, any more than does the French term "parent-in-law," or member of my family-in-law. The Nkundo would certainly not admit what the author cited here writes [221] [Table 2 appears here.] [222] about the Hera: "In inter-lineage relations, ... once the relationship between Ego and any cognatic relative is determined, all the cognates of the same lineage as that relative will bear the same degree of kinship as himself to Ego, regardless of the differences in generation . . . between themselves or as compared with Ego" (p. 5.).

The second rule would be that the clan which provides us a wife (bokilo clan of the Nkundo) is considered our "father," and thus the clan which receives a wife from our clan would be considered a "son." Moreover, among the Nkundo is understood: "We have given you our daughter as a wife, so you are our son." But also implied is: "We have enriched you by our marriage payment, and our children are your "fathers." These ideas, however, are not reflected in the terminology between affinals. Moreover, the fact that the Nkundo readily uses the term bokilo for his bokanga is significant.

Third rule: In lineages directly related to Ego's lineage, "the female line seems to be potentially one 'generation' lower than the agnatic male line" (p. 11). The author tells us that: "This duality is even revealed in agnatic relations . . . Ego calls his . . . father's sister either ntata (father's sister) or basawabi (sister)." Thus, the women of directly related clans would be considered to belong to a lower generation than the men.

[Text continues on page 7]

B: Boelaert--7 E,M-S (ca. 1949) 1951 FO32 Mongo FO32
Nkundo

121
602
649
601

It must be stated that the tables of the Ishinga clans presented by the author do not reflect this rule, since all members of these clans not related by blood, males as well as females, are designated as vakwasha= children-in-law. In the Ikelilo clans the rule seems to be founded on the Hera idea (according to the interpretation of the author) that all the women of my wife's clan are my "wives," no matter what their generation or age. This rule is not applicable to the Nkundo either in ideas or terminology.

There is still the fourth rule which the author quoted here once often but does not interpret in his tables where it is completely opposed to the second rule: the child is legally identified with its mother. According to the second rule, the child of my father's sister would be my grandchild, and at the same time, according to the fourth rule, it would be my "father."

For the Nkundo, the fourth rule explains how this child is my "father," while the child of my mother's brother is my "child."

One may thus conclude that two rules explain the details of the classificatory system of the Nkundo:

1. In clans which have given a wife to our clan, all the women who are legally younger sisters of this wife, exclusively, are "wives" of all the men, exclusively, who are legally younger brothers of the husband.

2. In clans which have received a wife from our clan, the children born of this wife are identified with their mother by the children of this wife's brothers.